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PAGE 01 MILAN 01170 300856Z

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FM AMCONSUL MILAN

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SUBJECT: MILAN AND VENICE TWO WEEKS AFTER JUNE 15 ELECTIONS

1. CONVERSATIONS WITH NON-COMMUNIST LEADERS MILAN AND VENICE POWER STRUCTURE SINCE ELECTIONS REVEAL CONSIDERABLE UNANIMITY OF VIEW ON CRITICAL PROPORTIONS JUNE 15 ELECTIONS. AS RETURNS ANALYZED AND OUTCOME WEIGHED, JUDGMENT IN THESE TWO KEY NORTHERN CITIES CLEARLY MORE PESSIMISTIC ABOUT FUTURE. NEED FOR DRASTIC LEADERSHIP CHANGE IN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS ALMOST UNANIMOUS.

2. FOLLOWING SYNTHESIES BASED UPON CONVERSATIONS IN VENICE WITH PATRIARCH, DC MAYOR, DC PROVINCIAL SECRETARY, PSI VICE MAYOR AND LEADERS SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, LIBERALS AND REPUBLICANS AS WELL AS HEAD OF INDUSTRIALISM AND EDITOR OF MAJOR DAILY. IN MILAN WITH CARDINAL, HEAD OF INDUSTRIALISTS, DC CITY SECRETARY, DC CITY COUNCIL LEADER, EDITOR CORRIERE DELLA SERA, EDITOR FINANCIAL DAILY 24 ORE, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS, SOCIALIST PROVINCIAL SECRETARY, COMMANDER MILITARY DISTRICT, PREFECT, HIGH MONTECATINI OFFICIAL, POLICE OFFICIALS, AND LEADING LEFTIST POLITICAL SCIENTIST.

3. AS REPORTED BY EMBASSY ROME AND PREVIOUSLY TOO FROM MILAN,
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PAGE 02 MILAN 01170 300856Z

GOOD GOVERNMENT AND NEW FACES ISSUES ARE ALMOST UNIVERSALLY

DESCRIBED AS MAIN CAUSES FOR SHARP COMMUNIST GAINS.

4. AS NATURE OF VOTER SHIFT ANALYZED, NEW WORRIES APPEAR. GENERALLY CONCLUDED THAT MAJOR PART OF COMMUNIST GAIN CAME DIRECTLY FROM DC AND OTHER NON-COMMUNIST PARTIES. THESE IDENTIFIED AS INCLUDING MATURE MIDDLE CLASS VOTERS AND NOT ONLY LOWER CLASS AND NEW VOTERS. IN SOME MILAN UPPER CLASS PRECINTA PCI VOTE ROSE DRAMITCALLY. THERE ARE ALSO STORIES OF MIDDLE CLASS MOTERS TELLING OUR CONTACTS THAT THEY VOTED COMMUNIST TO SHOW THEIR ANGER BUT THAT THEY WOULD RETURN IF THE DC (OR SOCIALISTS OR SOCIAL DEMOCRATS OR LIBERALS) WOULD CLEAN HOUSE.

5. ONE VERY NEW FACTOR SAID TO BE UNPRECEDENTED VOTE FOR COMMUNISTS AMONG POLICE AND MILITARY SERVICES. THERE ARE PRECINCTS WHERE ALMOST ENTIRE ELECTORATE IS COMPOSED OF SUCH UNITS. AND IN BOTH MILAN AND VENICE THE PCI VOTE THERE JUMPED. THIS IS A VERY WORRISOME DEVELOPMENT FOR SOME OF OUR CONTACTS WHO POINT TO PORTUGESE AND BRAZILIAN EXAMPLES. THEY CLAIM THAT MIDDLE AND LOWER GRADE OFFICERS ARE VERY MUCH ATTRACTED TO THESE TWO EXAMPLES OF HOW TO DEAL WITH CORRUPTION, POOR GOVERNMENTH, INEQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AND THEIR OWN LOSS OF STATUS.

6. HOPE OF ROLLING BACK COMMUNIST GAINS IN PARLIAMENTARY ELENIONS IS LESS STRONG THAN IMMEDIATELY AFTER ELECTIONS. THERE IS A GENERALIZED VIEW THAT COMMUNISTS WILL HOLD THEIR GAINS AS THEY HAVE DONE IN PAST, DESPITE LARGELY PROTEST NATURE OF INCREASERFM MORE COMMONLY DEBATED QUESTION IS WHETHER PCI GAINS CAN BE HELD TO THE JUNE 15 LEVEL IN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS.

7. OPINIONS ON THAT LIKELIHOOD CENTER ON BURNING ISSUE OF DC LEADERSHIP REFORM. ALMOST WITHOUT EXCEPTION OUR CONTACTS INSIST DC MUST IMMEDIATELY REMOVE FANFANI, TAVIANI, RUMOR, MORO, VAVA AND OTHER PERENNIAL LEADERS. CALL IS FOR A NEW GENERATION OF LEADERS AMONG WHOM FORLANI MOST OFTEN MENTIONED.

8. ANOTHER INNOVATION IS ATTACK ON PSI NATIONAL LEADERSHIP - EVEN BY ITS LOCAL LEADERS AND SUPPORTERS. IT IS CLAIMED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 MILAN 01170 300856Z

THAT PSI DID SO POORLY RELATIVE TO EXPECTATIONS BECAUSE DE MARTINO AND LOMBARDO ARE INEPT AND CORRUPT THEMSELVES. CHARGES OF PSI GRAFT, PATRONAGE HUNTING AND INTERNAL FEUDING OVER SPOILS IS HEARD FROM BOTH PSI FRIENDS AND FOES. RESULT IS A CALL FOR NEW NATIONAL LEADERSHIP ALTHOUGH MUCH LESS ANGRY AND LOUD THAN IN DC CASE.

9. APPARENT ECLIPSE OF MINOR LAY PARTIES, DESPITE SOME PRI

GAINS, ANOTHER NEW FACTOR. LIKE PSI, LOCAL REPUBLICANS FEEL DEFEATED BECAUSE THEY GAINED SO MUCH LESS THAN HOPED. THIS PERFORMANCE ADDS TO FREQUENTLY STATED VIEW THAT THERE IS NO LONGER USEFUL ROLE FOR THESE PARTIES AND THAT THEY SHOULD MERGE.

10. DECLINE OF MINOR LAY PARTIES GENERALLY ATTRIBUTED TO FANFANI'S DELIBERATE TACTIC TO APPEAL TO THE RIGHT. AND WHILE ANGER OF MINOR PARTY LEADERS IS THEREFORE NOT SURPRISING, REGRET VOICED BY BOTH CARDINALS OF MILAN AND VENICE, AT THIS RESULT IS ERMPTOMATIC OF BOTH ATTITUDES TOWARD FANFANI AND DISTANCE THAT CHURCH HAS COME IN PAST TWO DECADES.

11. ATTITUDES TOWARD COMMUNISTS ARE MIX OF FEAR, RESPECT AND OPPOSITION. EXTENT OF THEIR GAINS WAS A UNIVERSAL SURPRISE AND EVEN LOCAL SOCIALISTS WHO ARE READY TO WORK WITH THEM, APPEAR DRIVEN MORE BY HOSTILITY TO DC LEADERSHIP AND, PARADOXICALLY, FEAR OF COMMUNISTS, THAN BY CONFIDENCE IN THEM. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE IS CONSIDERABLE AGREEMENT THAT BOTH LOCAL AND NATIONAL COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP IS ABLE, UNSELFISH, DECENT AND HONEST IN SAYING THAT IT WISHES TO PRESERVE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN ITALY. (ALTHOUGH PCI ALSO EXTRACTS GRAFT, IT LOOKS BETTER BECAUSE SUMS TAKEN SAID TO BE SMALLER PERCENTAGE AND NOT USED FOR PERSONAL BENEFIT.) DESPITE THESE GRUDGING CONCESSIONS, IT ISNZMEDIATELY ADDED THAT IN THE CRUNCH, AND IN TIME, THE COMMUNISTS WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO RESIST ESTABLISHING AN AUTHORITARIAN REGIME. WHETHER SOVIET UNION WOULD INSTALL ANOTHER TEAM OF LEADERS OR THE RADICAL RANK AND FILE FORCE A DICTATORSHIP, OR PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT DEFY DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION, ONE WAY OR ANOTHER SOONER OR LATER, COMMUNISTS WOULD BEHAVE TRUE TO FORM. NOT ALL OF OUR CONTACTS ARE FULLY CONVINCED THIS WOULD HAPPEN. BUT THEY THINK IT ENOUGH UNCERTAIN TO OPPOSERUNNING THE RISK OF SEEING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 04 MILAN 01170 300856Z

THE COMMUNISTS ENTER THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

12. IN LIGHT THESE REACTIONS, OBSERVER IS LEFT WITH UNEASY SENSATION THAT DEMOCRATIC PARTY FABRIC IN THESE TWO MAJOR CENTERS, AT LEAST, IS IN VERY FRAGILE CONDITION DESPITE STRONG COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC STATE AND MODERN, DYNAMIC QUALITY OF MOST LEADERS WE SEE. FINA

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